

YUGOSLAV WORKERS ABROAD ACCORDING TO THE 1971 YUGOSLAV CENSUS

Summary

The census taken in Yugoslavia on 31 March, 1971 was the first also to cover Yugoslav workers in temporary employment abroad. The organizers of the census were faced with an exceptionally difficult task: without the benefit of previous experience to enumerate all persons temporarily employed outside the country.

The greatest difficulty was the methodologically inadequately defined concept of »temporary employment abroad«. What proved especially unsatisfactory was the fact that statements on the temporariness or permanence of the employment and residence of persons living abroad were to be made by members of their families who had stayed in Yugoslavia, or by some of their neighbours if the whole family was abroad.

Realizing the possibility that by an arbitrary interpretation of the concept »temporary« only a small number of persons working abroad would be covered by the census, the census takers were instructed to try and register all workers in employment abroad, regardless of the statements of their relatives or neighbours on the temporariness or permanence of the foreign employment of these workers. This greatly helped to ensure a fuller and more successful coverage of emigrant workers.

An enquiry among the communal census commissions in Croatia organized by the Department of Migration Studies of the Institute of Geography University of Zagreb immediately after the completed census (supplements 1 and 2) showed that the concept »temporary« was interpreted differently by the different communal census commissions and that most communes sought to cover all persons in employment abroad, even those who could hardly be expected to return in the foreseeable future.

The census enumerated 671,908 persons as »in temporary employment abroad«. A comparison of the census figures on Yugoslav migrants in individual countries with the statistical data supplied by the immigration countries about the number of Yugoslav workers employed in those countries at the time of the census (Table I) showed at least 15% of the Yugoslav migrants who were employed abroad at that time were not covered by the 1971 census. The respective difference was smaller as regards European countries (7.7%) than as regards overseas countries (47.7%).

Despite certain methodological omissions and the differences between the figures obtained in the regions of the origin of the migrants and those

supplied by the individual immigration countries, the census offers the most detailed and most reliable information on the structural characteristics of Yugoslav workers in foreign countries. In fact, many new structural characteristics can be worked out on the basis of the census. In the survey of the structural characteristics of Yugoslav external migrations obtained by the 1971 census the numerical data were as a rule corrected on the basis of the statistical information supplied by the immigration countries.

According to the results of the census, European countries employ 88.8% of Yugoslavia's external migrants, and according to the statistical data supplied by the countries of employment, 81.8% of Yugoslavia's migrants work in Europe (Table II). More than one half of the total number of emigrant workers are employed in West Germany followed by Austria, France, Switzerland and Sweden.

The share of the individual Yugoslav republics and autonomous provinces in the number of Yugoslav workers employed in individual foreign countries differs considerably (Table III, Fig. 1). Migrants from Croatia account for the majority of the Yugoslav emigrant workers in West Germany, Switzerland and overseas countries. Serbia has the largest share among Yugoslav emigrant workers in France, Austria, Sweden and the Benelux countries. The proportion of migrants from Bosnia/Herzegovina is specially marked among Yugoslav emigrant workers in Austria and West Germany, of those from Montenegro in the United States, from Macedonia in Australia and the United States, from Slovenia in Austria, Switzerland and Canada, from Vojvodina in Sweden, and from Kosovo in Switzerland.

According to the methodology applied in the 1971 census, the year of employment was to be entered as »the year of the latest departure for employment abroad« regardless of the time the migrant spent in Yugoslavia on holiday or on a visit. The census reports, however, undoubtedly showed that »the year of the latest departure for employment abroad« was entered as that year in which the worker left after a short visit to Yugoslavia (to see his family or to spend his holiday) or after a temporary stay in Yugoslavia (seasonal migrant workers). This resulted in unreal figures in respect of many migrants who had taken employment abroad in the years shortly before the census (Table IV and Fig. 2, Part I). However, even such unreliable data regarding the year of taking employment abroad are very suitable for obtaining information on the sex structure and the origin of the migrants who took employment abroad in one individual year. The proportion of women increased in 1967 and 1968 (Fig. 2, Part II), i. e. in the period of the economic recession in West Germany when there were fewer jobs open to men while the demand for female labour remained practically unchanged.

The figures on the share of the individual republics and autonomous provinces in the number of workers who emigrated in one individual year indicate that in recent years the numbers of workers from Croatia and Slovenia were decreasing while those of workers from Bosnia/Herzegovina, Serbia and Macedonia were increasing, with Montenegro's share remaining on the same low level (Table V, Fig. 3).

In the total number of Yugoslav migrants, women account for about one third (Table VI). Vojvodina has the biggest proportion of women among

emigrant workers (42.7%) followed by Slovenia (40.1%). As regards the proportion of women among Yugoslav emigrant workers in the individual countries of employment there are no major differences (Table VII). Only in Sweden and Switzerland is the proportion of women among Yugoslav emigrant workers slightly above the average figure.

One quarter of Yugoslavia's external migrants are in the age group between 20 and 24 (Table VIII, Fig. 4). Of Yugoslavia's total population in this age group as many as 11.1% are external migrants (Table IX). Among migrants below the age of 20 there are more women than men, while in all other age groups the proportion of men exceeds that of women in the same age group (Table X, Fig. 5). Of Yugoslavia's total male population of the age group of 20—24, 11.6% are in employment abroad, and of the age groups of 25—34 as many as 13.4%.

More than 42% of the Yugoslav emigrant workers have completed eight classes of elementary school, and more than 22%, after elementary education, have completed a vocational school, grammar school or university studies (Table XI, Fig. 6). The school qualifications of emigrant workers correspond to those of Yugoslavia's population as a whole, only that in the country's total population there is a much greater proportion of persons without school education than there is among emigrant workers (Table XII). As a rule, women have higher school qualifications than men (Table XIII, Fig. 6).

The census has shown that more than 10% of the emigrant workers have changed their status of activity, i. e. they are no longer supported persons but have the status of active persons (Table XIV, Fig. 7). External migrations have increased the contingent of Yugoslavia's active population by more than 70,000. Although women make up less than one third of the emigrant workers, they account for as much as 84.0% of the migrants who before emigration were supported persons (Table XV).

A comparison between activity before taking employment abroad and the school education of emigrant workers will show that the migrants who before taking employment abroad were supported persons include a comparatively small proportion of persons who had been trained for skilled or highly skilled workers, while the proportion of persons who completed elementary schooling (8 classes), a secondary school or some vocational school is greater than that of migrants who were active before emigrating (Table XVI).

Before taking employment abroad, 40.2% of all Yugoslav migrants were »workers«, i. e. they were employed or were seeking employment through the country's employment services or through public competitions (Table XVII). 53.7% of the men and 70% of the women were not »workers« before taking employment abroad (Table XVIII).

Of all the persons who before emigrating held jobs or were seeking employment (»workers«), almost one half have some qualifications (Table XIX, Fig. 8). A comparatively good qualification structure is one of the basic characteristics of Yugoslav emigrant workers. A comparison of the qualification structure of all persons employed in Yugoslavia and of persons who held jobs before taking employment abroad will show that emigrant workers include larger proportions of both skilled and highly skilled persons (Table

XX). This allows the general conclusion that foreign employment is taken up by persons employed in productive activities in Yugoslavia. As was to be expected, women who had jobs before taking employment abroad have a much poorer qualification structure than have men (Table XXI).

Of the total number of migrants who before emigrating were active in Yugoslavia, 56.6% were concerned with farming (Table XXII). This means that, by emigrating, more than one half of the external migrants moved from the primary into other sectors of activity. The proportion of migrants who before taking employment abroad were engaged in agriculture exceeds the proportion of active farmers in Yugoslavia's total active population (Table XXIII). One half of the persons who before taking employment abroad were active in industry, mining and the building industry are skilled and highly skilled workers (Table XXIV).

In addition to being concerned with farming, almost one third of the migrants who before emigrating were active held various kinds of job in the secondary sector (Table XXV, Fig. 9). Comparison of the proportion of occupational groups among active persons in Yugoslavia and that among Yugoslav workers employed abroad has shown that (apart from agricultural workers) the proportion of miners and industrial and related workers among the emigrants also exceeds that of the same kind of workers among the active population at home (Table XXVI). Among the persons who before emigrating were concerned with farming, women account for a much greater proportion than men (Table XXVII). Comparison of the individual groups of occupation and education shows that only 2.5% of agricultural workers have more than elementary education (Table XXVIII). Before taking employment abroad, 168,500 workers held various industrial jobs in Yugoslavia (more than 5,000 persons per job), and the most numerous groups among them are building and metal workers, mechanics, electricians, etc. (Table XXIX). Although the census did not cover all highly skilled persons, because their stay abroad could be expected with less justification to be only »temporary«, the total of almost 16,000 migrants who are experts with secondary or higher education is a very large number and one of the adverse characteristics of Yugoslav migrations. One third of these persons are technical and technological experts, and more than one quarter are medical personnel (Table XXX). Almost 30% of all experts have higher education. Of the total number of migrants who hold expert jobs and have completed secondary or higher education 38.1% come from Croatia (Table XXXI). It is noteworthy that emigrant workers from Yugoslavia's underdeveloped regions include a considerable number of experts.

The 1971 census revealed considerable differences between the proportions of the individual nationalities among Yugoslavia's population and those of nationalities among emigrant workers (Table XXXII). Of all Yugoslav nationalities only the Croats have a larger share among the external migrants than is their share in Yugoslavia's total population: while the average rate of external migration is 3.3, among the population of Croatian nationality it is 5.8, and it is lowest among the Montenegrin (1.0) and Serbian (1.1) nationalities. The Rumanian national group in Yugoslavia has the highest rate of external migrants of all peoples and nationalities living in Yugoslavia (9.0). The national composition of emigrant workers from the

individual republics and autonomous provinces is not in proportion to the national composition of their respective populations (Table XXXIII, Fig. 10). Croats in those basic administrative regions (republics, autonomous provinces) where they form a considerable proportion of the population, have a larger share in the number of migrant workers than is their proportion in the respective region's total population. A comparison of the percentages of nationality among migrants from the individual administrative regions of Yugoslavia in relation to the national composition of the total population shows, for instance, that in Bosnia/Herzegovina the proportion (in %) of Croats among Yugoslav emigrant workers exceeds that of Croats in the total population of that republic (Table XXXIV). At the same time among the emigrant workers from this republic there are 34.6% fewer Moslems and 19.9 fewer Serbs than are the respective shares of these nationalities in the republic's total population.

As regards the number and structure of Yugoslav external migrants there exist considerable regional differences. Coverage by the census also differs according to individual republics and autonomous provinces (Table XXXV). Especially interesting is a comparison of the share which individual parts of Yugoslavia have in the country's total population, among the employed at home, and among the total number of external migrants (Table XXXVI, Fig. 11). Bosnia/Herzegovina, Croatia and Macedonia have a larger share among emigrant workers than is their respective share in Yugoslavia's total population, while in respect of all other parts of the country the situation is exactly the opposite. With corrected figures on emigrant workers in Yugoslavia's census we obtain an average rate of Yugoslav external migrations of 3.9. Croatia has the highest (6.1) and Montenegro the lowest (2.0) rate of external migration. Out of every hundred employed persons in the country there are an average of 20.5 persons employed abroad (in Bosnia/Herzegovina 29.1, in Slovenia 10.2). The countries of immigration have different shares in the total number of migrants from the individual republics and autonomous provinces of Yugoslavia (Table XXXVII, Fig. 12).

Analysis of the statistical figures according to communes (supplements 3—18) shows marked regional differences in the number and structure of external migrants. The largest absolute number of migrants from a single commune come from Zagreb (Table XXXVIII). The regions with the greatest concentration of communes with the largest absolute number of external migrants in Yugoslavia are eastern Croatia and northern Bosnia (supplement 5).

When comparing the number of emigrant workers with the number of inhabitants according to communes we shall see that there is a continuous region with a high rate of external migration which covers almost the whole of Croatia spreading towards western, south-western and northern Bosnia and northeastern Slovenia (supplement 6). Other regions with a high rate of external migrants are western Macedonia, eastern Serbia and eastern Vojvodina. The Imotski commune has the highest rate of external migration in Yugoslavia (18.6; Table XXXIX).

By comparing the number of migrants from individual communes who took employment abroad during the 15 months prior to the census with the

total number of migrants from those communes we shall undoubtedly notice that the process of emigration for employment purposes is spreading towards the central and south-eastern part of Yugoslavia (supplement 7). We shall also see that as a rule regions with a low rate of external migration in the country's underdeveloped parts account for a larger proportion of persons who took employment abroad for the first time during those 15 months than do regions with a high rate of external migration.

The different proportion of women among external migrants from the individual parts of Yugoslavia is especially noticeable from the data according to communes (supplement 8). The ten communes where more than 50% of the migrants are women are in Slovenia and Croatia (Table XL).

The communes from which a specially large proportion of migrants are employed in West Germany are in various parts of Yugoslavia, both in those with a high, and those with a low rate of external migration (supplement 9). Of the ten communes of whose total number of migrants the majority is employed in West Germany, four have a rate of external migration which is below the Yugoslav average (Table XLI).

Yugoslav emigrant workers employed in Austria chiefly come from north-eastern and north-western Serbia and central and northern Bosnia (supplement 10). Although migration to Austria is characteristic of communes where the practice of taking employment abroad started later than in others, many communes which have a high proportion of emigrant workers employed in Austria are already marked by a very high rate of external migration (Table XLII).

That migrants from Serbia proper tend to take employment in France is also visible from the statistical figures according to communes (supplement 11). Of the ten communes with the highest proportion of external migrants employed in France, nine are in the territory of Serbia proper (Table XLIII).

There are two regions in Yugoslavia which have a slightly greater concentration of communes with a considerable proportion of migrants employed in Switzerland: in the north-western and eastern parts of the country (supplement 12). Migration to Switzerland is chiefly from communes with a low rate of external migration (Table XLIV). The communes with a major proportion of emigrant workers employed in Sweden and the Benelux countries are also marked by a low rate of external migration (supplement 13).

Regional differences in respect of origin are still more noticeable among Yugoslav overseas migrants than among those who have emigrated to European countries. The communes with the largest proportion of emigrant workers in Australia are in south-western Macedonia and the Croatian coastal region (supplement 14).

Of the ten communes with the largest proportion of emigrant workers in Australia six are in Macedonia and four in Croatia, and they are generally marked by a high rate of external migration (Table XLV). The United States and Canada are the countries of immigration especially of migrants from communes in southern Montenegro and Banat and from several communes in the northern part of the Croatian coastal region, neighbouring Lika and

Gorski Kotar (supplement 15). Of the ten communes with the largest proportion of migrants to Anglosaxon North America four are in Croatia, three in Montenegro, two in Vojvodina, and one in Macedonia (Table XLVI).

Most of the communes with the largest proportion of young migrants (up to 29 years of age) are in eastern Macedonia, southern Serbia, Istria, south-western and eastern Slovenia (supplement 16). All communes with a large proportion of migrants of up to 29 years of age have a very low rate of external migration (Table XLVII). These migrants include a comparatively small proportion of skilled workers.

A large proportion of migrants, who before taking employment abroad were trained for a job, i. e. persons who have completed secondary technical education, come from regions with marked differences in the level of economic development (supplement 17). Such communes exist both in economically developed and in underdeveloped regions. Of eighteen communes where trained workers account for more than 55% of the total number of migrants, eleven are the communes of the four republican capitals: Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana and Sarajevo (Table XLVIII).

The communes where more than the average proportion of migrants were concerned with farming before taking employment abroad and generally situated in the country's central mountain and karst regions (supplement 18). These communes have highly different rates of external migration, — from very low to very high (Table IL). This suggests that agricultural workers taking employment abroad come from regions where the process of external migration is at different stages. It appears that from communes where emigration for employment purposes is a spontaneous process, skilled workers are the first to emigrate, while in communes which join the process of external migration through the mediation of the Yugoslav employment services it is chiefly the inadequately employed farming population which takes employment abroad.

Emigration for employment purposes is one of Yugoslavia's major contemporary economic and socio-political problems which must be expected to continue for some time to come. In order that the migration processes may be influenced in the most appropriate manner, they have to be continually studied. In this respect it would be of immense value if emigration for employment purposes, as a special characteristic of the country's population, was closely followed and regularly reported on by the country's statistical services.

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